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The Christian Socialist

VOL. II. No. 3. DANVILLE, ILLINOIS, FEBRUARY 1, 1905. Whole No. 19.

STILL LEADING US ON

FRANCIS E. WILLARD

WHY FRANCIS E. WILLARD WAS A SOCIALIST

The following from the lips of Francis E. Willard, the most honored and beloved temperance and prohibition leader America ever knew, is a part of the thrilling address she delivered at the National Convention of the W. C. T. U. of 1897, which was the last before her death:

"Look about you; the products of labor are on every hand; you could not maintain for a moment a well ordered life without them; every object in your room has in it for discerning eyes, the mark of ingenious tools and the pressure of labor's hand. But is it not the cruelest injustice for the wealthy, whose lives are surrounded and embellished by labor's work, to have a superabundance of the money which represents the aggregate of labor in any country, while the laborer himself is kept so steadily at work that he has no time to acquire the education and refinements of life that would make him and his family agreeable companions to the rich and cultured? The reason why I am a Socialist comes in just here.

"I would take, not by force, but by the slow process of lawful acquisition through better legislation as the outcome of a wiser ballot in the hands of men and women, the entire plant that we call civilization, all that has been achieved on this continent in the 400 years since Columbus wended his way hither, and make it the common property of all the people, requiring all to work enough with their hands to give them the finest physical development, but not to become burdensome in any case, and permitting all to share alike the advantages of education and refinement. I BELIEVE THIS TO BE PERFECTLY PRACTICABLE, indeed, that any other method is simply a relic of barbarism.

"I believe that competition is doomed. The trusts, whose single object is to abolish competition, have proved that we are better without than with it, and the moment corporations control the supply of any product they combine. What the Socialists desire is that the corporation of humanity should control all production. Beloved comrades, this is the frictionless way; it is the higher way; IT ELIMINATES THE MOTIVES FOR A SELFISH LIFE; it enacts into our every-day living the ethics of Christ's gospel. NOTHING ELSE WILL DO IT; nothing else can bring the glad day of universal brotherhood.

"OH, THAT I WERE YOUNG AGAIN, AND IT SHOULD HAVE MY LIFE! It is God's way out of the wilderness and into the promised land. IT IS THE VERY MARROW OF CHRIST'S GOSPEL. It is Christianity applied."

OH, FOR A GOOD COMBINE!

Every atom says to every other one, "Combine," and, doing so, they change chaos into order. When every woman shall say to every other, and every worker shall say to every other, "Combine," the war-dragon shall be slain, the poverty viper shall be exterminated, the saloon drowned out, and the last white slave liberated.—Francis E. Willard.

SOCIALISM AND THE SALOON

BY EDWARD ELLIS CARR

He was a loyal Socialist, but the liquor fumes upon his breath offended me; and, in answer to his question, I remarked with a slight inflection of Pharisaic emphasis: "I came into the Socialist movement from the Prohibition party."

"You did right. As a true prohibitionist, you did right," said he promptly: "for the liquor business cannot live under Socialism."

The thought was not new to me. The incident is mentioned merely to show that even drinking men who are versed in the principles of Socialism realize that the saloon is doomed under its regime. And most of them are glad of it.

And as this issue of the Christian Socialist goes to thousands of temperance people, I wish to set forth some reasons for believing that the liquor business cannot live under Socialism and that the ONLY way to destroy the saloon is through the destruction of the Profit System, or Capitalism, from which it springs.

It is difficult to make clear the claims set forth in this article to those who have not fully mastered the Socialist philosophy, and I earnestly beseech such readers not to turn away with impatience or doubt, but to read the article carefully through, ponder the statements made, then diligently study Socialism "to see if these things are so;" for unless you have the key you cannot unlock the door.

I

The Saloon Sustained by Profits Only

The saloon exists for Profits only, not "to make criminals," nor even "to satisfy an appetite." It is not primarily either malevolent or benevolent. It is a BUSINESS enterprise, pure and simple. But for Profits no man would subject himself, his wife and children to the social slights which are inevitable in America if he runs a saloon or liquor factory. In common parlance, the business is not "respectable," and no one feels this more keenly than the liquor merchant and his family.

"But," said a saloon-keeper, "what am I to do? Every avenue of business and well-paid labor is overcrowded, and I must obtain a living for my family somehow. This is easier and less risky than most other business; and, besides, if I do not run the saloon some one else will."

Strike the Profit from the business and how many men would endure social condemnation to engage in it? There would then be absolutely NO INDUCEMENT for any one to keep a saloon, bucket shop or boot-leg bottle to supply the demand of his thirsty neighbor.

"Let him make his own liquor!" The most radical Prohibitionist could not demand more, and that would soon end it.

Are you thinking of the comparative failure to reduce intemperance of state control in South Carolina and Sweden? These are not cases in point. State control is not Socialism and does not eliminate the Profit element. Profit cannot be eliminated from the liquor business while the Profit System exists, and all such attempts are doomed to failure.

II

Profit the Source of Corruption

Profit in the liquor business is the sole source of its corruptive

(Continued on Page 4)

IT'S COMING

BY RALPH KORNGOLD

It's coming!
It's coming!
I hear the drum, drum, drum;
The air is split.

It's coming!
It's coming!
With soft sprinkle of pipe-tunes,
And straight, strong, column-like risings of trumpet blasts,
Soaring to the uppermost heavens—
The air is ringing with a thousand bells!

It's coming!
And when it comes,
Then kings, and presidents, and captains of industry, and politicians
Will be naught!

They will wane as shadows wane when the sun arises,
Wane like a hideous nightmare.

They will be defeated when the light touches them—
The light of awakening humanity!
For they are naught but shadows formed and sustained by our diseased mind—
Naught but shadows.

When the light comes
And we shall arise from the dark sepulchre of our ignorance—
Then we shall ask:
What was this dream?—this awful dream?
Where are those things which looked so strong and formidable?
And sighing we shall say:
Ah, if we had but known!

Danville, Ill.

NOTES ON "MEUM ET TUUM"

BY WILLIAM WHATELY

I—THE MORAL TITLE TO INCOME

The various theories of social justice center upon the question—What is the true moral title to income? As to this, there are three main doctrines, the first being the individualist doctrine, and the other two being collectivist doctrines.

The individualist doctrine is that of contract right, which means that a man has a right to all he can make (whether in the form of wages, profits, interest or rent) by bargaining with others. This principle is the basis of the transactions of the entire commercial world. The business conscience holds contract valid in all except very extreme cases, and does not consider the moral title to income to be affected by any advantage taken in making the bargain. The business conscience approves of a certain moderate measure of deception, as necessary in order to keep trade lively; it condones a considerably larger measure of deception, and it only condemns that extreme form which is known as "fraud." The lines between these three areas are, it must be admitted, blurred lines.

This point is, however, not nearly so important as the fact that the business conscience takes no account of economic duress availed of in making bargains. Every man is at liberty to take all the advantage he can of the necessities and the ignorance of others whom he hires for work, or from whom he buys, or to whom he sells, and his moral title to the profits arising is in no way vitiated by such advantage.

The collectivist doctrines take distinct issue with the individualist doctrine on this point. There are two main collectivist doctrines which might be called the "genetic" and the "telic," that is to say the doctrine which has regard to the origination of the goods, and the doctrine which has regard to the end for which the goods exist. The former of these might be called the doctrine of "maker's right," and means that the producer is entitled to an income in proportion to his work. It divides itself into two alternative tenets—the first being that the measure of rightful income is the actual value of the product of the individual: and the alternative tenet being that the measure of a man's rightful income is the amount of effort he puts forth in useful work. The former of these two might be called the semi-socialist tenet, and is no doubt vaguely held by a large proportion of the people. The latter of the two is distinctly the tenet of militant socialism. It is clearly defined and tenaciously held by the International Socialist party throughout the civilized world, having been established to the satisfaction of militant Socialists by Karl Marx under the form of what he considered the economic doctrine of surplus value.

We now come to the second main collectivist doctrine, which we have called "telic." This might be called "user's right," and is the principle that the right to any product is his who has the need of the product, of course under defined social arrangements. This is without doubt the doctrine implied by the teachings of Jesus and it lies at the root of the theory of communism. It is not clearly or actively held by any considerable number of persons, nor is it ever likely to become the program of a political movement. In fact, the Socialist doctrine, if put into practical arrangements, with generous allowance for the young, the old and the disabled, would substantially coincide with the communist doctrine.

Timely interest is given to this discussion by a notable though seemingly casual remark in President Roosevelt's recent Message:

"Great corporations are necessary, and only men of great and singular mental power can manage such corporations successfully, and such men must have great rewards."

Here the President ignores the notion of contract-right as giving moral title to income,—the matter-of-course view of the successful that a man is entitled to all he can make,—and evidently appeals to some standard of reward proportional to usefulness—which is to say, to the semi-Socialist form of "maker's right." That this view of the title to income is no carelessly taken position may be known from a previous remark of his, contained in his speech at Minneapolis delivered September 2d, 1901:

"The vast individual and corporate fortunes, the vast combinations of capital, which have marked the development of our industrial system, create new conditions and make necessary a change from the old attitude of the state and nation toward property."

II—THE THREE RIGHTS—THEIR SUCCESSIVE REALIZATION

There are three main notions of distributive justice,—contract right, maker's right, and user's right. Maker's right appears under two forms,—maker's right with inequality, and maker's right with equality.

User's right is THE absolute right, but it never can become a battle cry in politics because the immediate beneficiaries of user's right are the weak, that is, the young, the old and the disabled, and these can never form a party nor the nucleus of a party. User's right will, however, be ultimately established by way of maker's right.

In a land of universal and equal suffrage the establishment of maker's right as supreme, and the abolition of contract right, are as certain as mathematics, SIMPLY BECAUSE THE MAKERS VASTLY OUTNUMBER THE TRADERS. As the makers come to the realization that they have a common interest, that they have a common sense of right, and that they have a common power, they become community-conscious,—what the Socialists call "class-conscious." They then in time become irresistible.

The first form of maker's right to be established will be the form with inequality, because this will be felt to be necessary, and probably will be necessary at first, to keep up the volume of production. Eventually, however, maker's right with equality must become supreme, from the same mathematical logic as above.

Maker's right being established, must tend from the first practically to merge into user's right; for who are the beneficiaries of the latter? They are the old, the young and the disabled. And where are these individuals to be found? In the families of the makers. A considerable majority of the makers will always have some feeble individuals depending upon them, and therefore it will be to their interest to establish the common right of the feeble to their share in distribution. Putting it in its baldest form, it will be to the interest of this great majority to compel the minority who have neither parents nor children living, to let go of a part of the product of their labor for the benefit of the feeble.

Thus we see that a purely economic process, assuming only one altruistic element in human nature, namely, family love, will work out the perfect ethics of universal love.

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THE DRUNKARD'S WIFE

AUTHOR UNKNOWN

In the hospital ward a woman lay
Painfully gasping her life away—
So bruised and beaten you scarce could trace
Womanhood's semblance in form or face;
But the hair that over the pillow rolled
In a tangled mass was like threads of gold,
And never a sculptor in any land
Molded a daintier foot or hand.

Said one who ministered to her need,
"None but a coward could do this deed!
And what bitter hate must have nerved the arm
That a helpless creature like this could harm!"

Then the dim eyes hazy with death's eclipse,
Slowly unlocked and the quivering lips
Murmured faintly: "He—loved—me—well,—
My husband;—'twas drink—be sure—you tell—
When—he—comes to himself—that I forgive;
Poor fellow—for him I—would like—to live."
A shudder, a moan, as the words were said,
And the drunkard's wife on the couch lay dead.

Oh fathers who hold your daughters dear—
Sombody's daughter is lying here!
Oh brothers of sisters, come and see
What the fate of your helpless ones may be!
Oh men, however you love your home,
Be it palace or cottage 'neath heaven's blue dome,
This demon of crime may enter in;
For law strikes hands and bargains with sin.

Keep pushing them forward—Drink, boys, drink!
Your fathers are paid for your lives they think.

AND IN THE GREAT MARTS WHERE MAMMON STRIVES
THE CHEAPEST OF ALL THINGS ARE HUMAN LIVES.

CRIME UNDER SOCIALISM

All the crimes growing out of property rights, greed, robbery, stealing, cheating, prostitution of person or talent for gain, etc., constituting nine-tenths of all crime, will wholly cease under Socialism from the very nature of the case, though this fact may not clearly appear to the one who is partially versed in our philosophy.

Under Socialism there will be three crimes appearing more or less for a few generations, until the higher, truer education of mankind eradicates them.

1. INDOLENCE. Under the Capitalist system working people are literally "born tired," and the rich cultivate indolence as a grace. It will be a disgrace under Socialism whose shame will be ruthlessly rubbed in upon the one who yields to it by all who are acquainted with him; for then there will be no excuse. The shame of labor will be removed, the rewards of labor will be princely, and the shirk will be suitably despised and punished.

"The man who will not work" then will not be kept in luxury by the toilers like Castellane, Astor and hosts of others are now. Not then will

"The toilers have the least
While the idlers lord the feast."

Nor will any tramp then receive a kindly, liberal "hand out" from the back door, for all will know the idler is a fraud.

"If a man will not work neither shall he eat" has been accepted as the dictum of Socialism, and after a fellow has spent a week or two in solitary confinement on bread and water, or nothing at all to eat, he will be willing enough to work. And after a generation or two of normal life and proper education a lazy man will be as rare as a lazy squirrel or beaver.

Under the Capitalist system the man who works the most gets the least. The men who produce the wealth of the nation are always poor. In order to get "honor" and riches a man must quit productive work and go to exploiting the workers. The tramp lives better on the whole than the day laborer. The rich man as a rule produces nothing.

Under Socialism the worker will get the full product of his labor, which will be an irresistible inspiration to industry. It will be worth while to work then.

2. LUST. Human passion will yield eventually to wise teaching, hygiene and physical culture, but for generations there will be crimes of lust. Some the sudden melting of discretion in the warm embrace of love, others the devilish calculation of deliberate seduction, or brutal rape. But no woman will need to sell her body for her support, nor the support of any loved one, because she cannot obtain work or a sufficient salary. Few women sin through lust itself, and when they become economically free the house and trade of prostitution will flee back into the black pit of oblivion. There will be no poor girls then to fall a prey to the gilded seductions of aristocratic youth, and in the course of time men themselves will become decent through culture and necessity. No man or woman will need to wed "for a home," or any mercenary reason, and by and by marriage will become "a thing of beauty" and "a joy forever."

The charge of "free love" and "divorce" against Socialists is an infamous, unfounded slander. The divorce courts of America are not frequented by Socialists. Only one Socialist divorce has been published in America where the capitalist press is eager to proclaim such things against us. What church of 800,000 members (including our women) can show so clean a record concerning this matter? With the courts of Capitalism reeking with trials for seduction, rape and especially divorce, the charge of such things upon Socialism is no more than the trick of shameless priests and politicians.

3. VIOLENCE. Hot tempers and jealousy will not be unknown. Quarreling, fighting, violence will sometimes occur under Socialism,—but not on account of money or property. No family feuds over disputed wills. No law-suits over titles and property rights. No scheming and cruelty for a better income. No insults or slights on account of poverty or dependence. Economic equality and brotherly love will end most quarrels and violence. Religion and wise instruction will eventually end the rest.

"Glory to God in the Highest, and on Earth Peace, Good Will to Men," will be the universal song in this sweet by and by.

"With glad jubilation, bring hope to the nations:
The long night is ending—the dawn has begun!
Rise, Hope of the Ages, arise like the sun—
All speech flow to music—all hearts beat as one!"

E. E. C.

"The Bible and Socialism," by Rev. George W. Woodbey, is a carefully made booklet which will be helpful to any student of historical economics, especially to one who believes the Bible. It may be obtained at this office for 20 cents, postage prepaid.

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BE STRONG

BY MALTBIE DAVENPORT BABCOCK

Be strong!
Say not the days are evil—Who's to blame?
And fold thy hands and acquiesce—O shame!
Stand up, speak out, and bravely, in God's name.

Be strong!
It matters not how deep intrenched the wrong,
How hard the battle goes, the day how long.
Faint not! Fight on! Tomorrow comes the song.

Not Revenge, but FREEDOM, Brother Russians.

The notes on "Meum et Tuum," in this issue, furnish an example of clear, concise, scientific Socialist writing.

The cowardice of the Czar in this tragic emergency, as he fled from palace to palace and became prostrate with grief (?) (TERROR) on account of his crime, requires that his popular title be changed from "Little White Father" to "Little White Feather."

Secretary Morton says there are but three solutions of the Interstate Commerce Commission's demand for power:

1. Pooling under legislation.
2. Combining.
3. Government ownership.

The third, he says, is the worst of the three. What does this mean?

In the first two solutions every opportunity is given for men to absorb their lives, their thoughts, their hopes, their entire being into the business, while in the last this is not true. Who will lose himself and his being in an enterprise that belongs to all? Who will not find his own individual life, its opportunities, its pleasures, and its prospects of more absorbing interest? Today men are absorbed by business because it is individually owned and therefore is a part of the opportunities of individual private life. When this is no longer true men will find in their talents, powers of mind and graces of soul and person the field of this absorbing thought and action.

If the human soul is the standard by which we gauge the future, we may safely predict that business will rapidly and quickly go into public control. Private business is today the barrier between a man and his own soul. Secretary Morton's worst may be God's best method of meeting the problem. O. F. D.

We had advance orders for more than two thousand extra copies of this issue and feeling sure that others will want bundles after seeing the paper, we have printed a few hundred additional extras which may be had in bundles of ten or more at one cent each.

SOCIALISM AND THE SALOON

(Continued from Page 1)

power in politics.

1. Profit alone enables the liquor business to pay a heavy tax to the government and a large license to municipalities which debauch the tax-paying citizenship generally. An internal revenue tax and a city license are nothing more nor less than BRIBES deliberately accepted by the national and local governments for the perpetuation of a well-recognized wrong. Without the Profit of course there would be no reason for and no means of paying the license.

2. Profit enables the Liquor Dealers' Association to maintain a "convincing" lobby with sufficient "arguments" at every Congress and state legislature to prevent the passage of laws unfavorable to "the trade." These arguments are so effective that they practically invalidate all efforts to obtain temperance or prohibitory laws. It is much more PROFITABLE for the legislature to be "convinced" by the liquor lobby than by the agents of the temperance societies.

3. Profit makes it possible and DESIRABLE for liquor dealers to bribe mayors, police and judges so that "Prohibition does not prohibit" in states and cities that have prohibitory laws. Carrie Nation's hatchet is in vain. We must cut Profit out of the business.

4. Profit also enables liquor men to exert such "influence" upon state, county and city superintendents of schools that the full truth about the evils of alcoholic beverages is not taught to the young.

III

Prohibition Impossible Under Capitalism

The difficulty of enforcing prohibition while the Profit System lasts is as great as to enforce the law against stealing under the same Robber System. A system built on graft, exploitation, robbery, outlawry and false pretence can never enforce honesty. Those who commit small thefts will be punished, for the common people must be kept in submission; but gigantic postal frauds, army defaults, railroad rebates and excesses, watered stocks, "made" dollars, wholesale extortion, the liquor traffic, trusts, monopolies and all the schemes of "Frenzied Finance" will continue as long as the Profit System lasts, for it is Robbery and can bear no other fruit.

The Prohibition party in office could not establish prohibition under the Profit System.

There are laws against prostitution, gambling, grafting and all sorts of wicked things; but they are not enforced, simply because it is FINANCIALLY PROFITABLE for the "executive" to wink at the most and the worst of the violations of law. Money is too great a temptation under a system where honest productive labor wears the brand and burden of slavery and only the parasite can obtain wealth and leisure.

1. Even if the Prohibition party should come to power it would result from a large accession of people who are "no better than the rest of us," and if the battle for spoils between such men as Woolley and Stewart cannot be kept out now while the party is small and comparatively pure, how could the temptation to make money out of office and influence be suppressed in the larger crowd, many of whom would come to the party on the eve of victory led by the smell of spoils? Prohibitionists in office under the Profit System would prove to be but common clay. They would not all be able to stand the crushing trial under which most people fall. Most folks would need money too much then, just as they do now, to resist temptation, and prohibitory law—like anti-bribery law—would prove a rope of sand.

To be sure many men would be loyal, but the strain would be so constant and so heavy, the need of the emoluments of office so great and the difficulties put in the way by liquor men so stupendous that the result would be extremely unsatisfactory to the uncompromising Prohibitionists. The enforcement of prohibition would depend upon the character of the officials and their unflinching loyalty in the face of the most seductive temptation. It would still be to the immediate self-interest of legislators, congressmen, councilmen and executives to compromise, to weaken, to adroitly nullify the law—for the Profit will always be on the side of wrong.

2. Meanwhile the states, counties and cities not dominated by the Prohibition party would be the open strongholds of the traffic from which an unceasing, insidious, well-nigh irresistible

(Continued on Page 8)

THE OBJECT OF THE SALOON

BY E. E. CARR

It was a "powerful" sermon on "The Cause of Crime," and the appeal to young and old was deeply impressive. Crime was traced to the saloon, vile literature, gambling, get-rich-quick schemes, etc., and the preacher said: "The object of these things is to make criminals."

Concerning the saloon, especially, the statement was repeated again and again: "The object of the saloon is to make criminals."

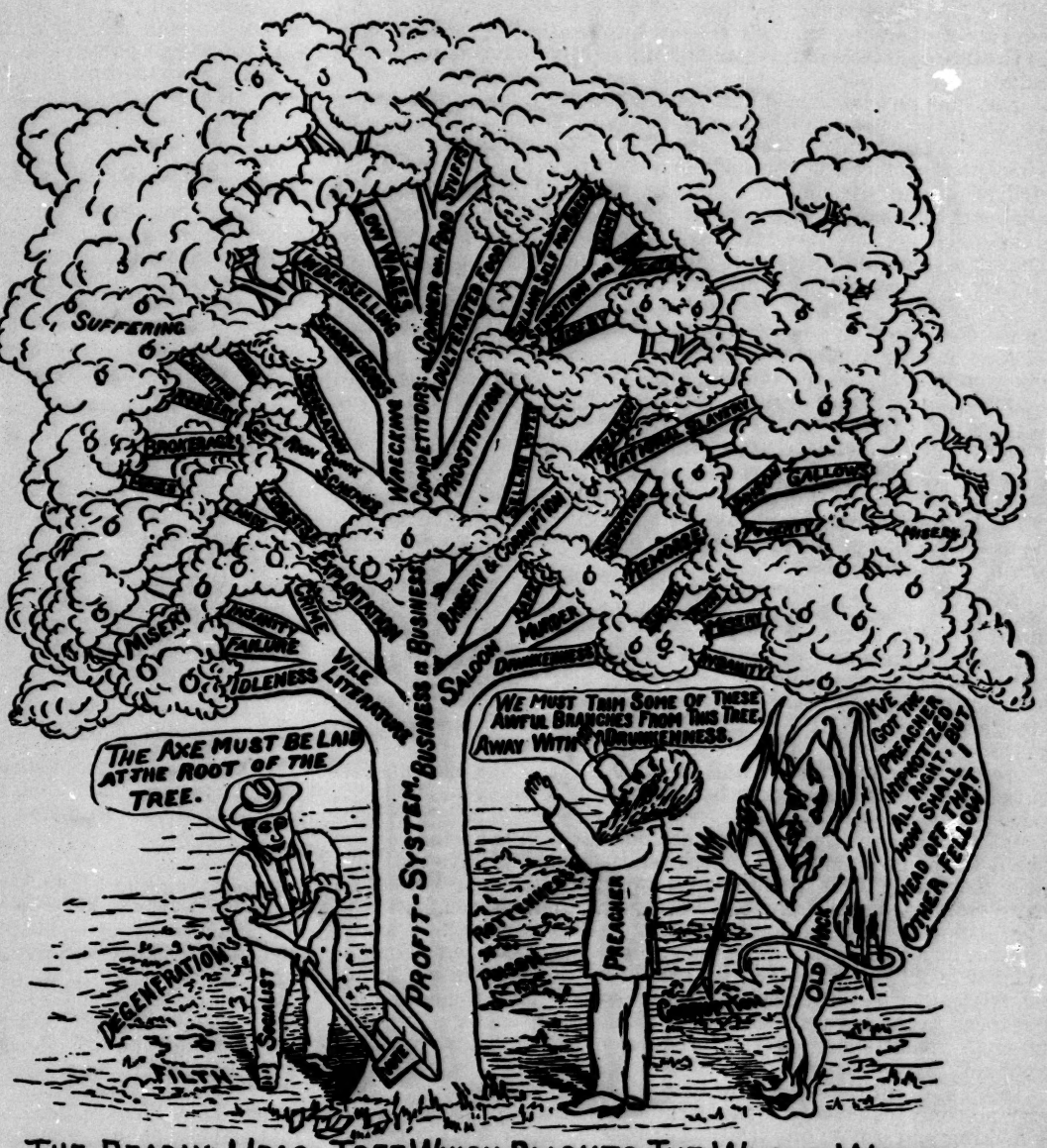
"I have made this statement before many audiences, and challenged its denial," said he, "but no one has ever yet disputed it to me: The object of the saloon is to make criminals—that is what it exists for."

It would have caused a needless sensation to get up and challenge the statement during the meeting, but I think the preacher saw the challenge in my eyes, for as I came down the isle after the audience was dismissed he stood by the pulpit rail laughing in a friendly, expectant way, as if he were ready for the joust, and held out his hand.

"I just came to tell you, Brother G.," said I, "that THE OBJECT OF THE SALOON IS TO MAKE MONEY."

And so it is. The crime, sorrow and ruin it causes are merely incidental. The saloonkeeper is not fiend enough to desire such results, but for the sake of the money he will sell liquor in spite of these evil consequences.

And as I "pondered all these things in my heart" the accompanying cartoon took form in a rude pencil sketch which Comrade Braucher kindly perfected for the engraver. It is an old figure, but strikingly true.



THE DEADLY UPAS TREE WHICH BLIGHTS THE WHOLE WORLD.

There is ONE SOLE CAUSE for nine-tenths of the crimes of all men of all time: PROFITS. "The love of money is the root of all evil," says the King James Version; and if it be only "a root of evil," as the New Version says, yet it is the TAP ROOT of evil.

THE PROFIT SYSTEM is the TRUNK of the tree whose branches are the saloon, the brothel, vile literature, political corruption, treason, gambling, get-rich-quick schemes and all the appalling array of crime, misery and ruin which the cartoon indicates. Were it not for the PROFITS none of these things would exist in human society. But "BUSINESS IS BUSINESS" and "The Almighty Dollar" must be obtained at any price by any means.

It is unnecessary to say much more upon the subject. The cartoon plainly speaks A TERRIBLE TRUTH which I challenge the careful thinker to deny.

I mean no disrespect for the ministry, which I honor above all other callings; but THERE IS A REASON for the present universally confessed impotence of the church, and I believe with all my heart it is because the church (perhaps unawares) has been worshiping the golden calf. Let the ministers throw off "the wiles of the devil." Let them boldly preach against what Christ and the Apostles condemned and proclaim the principles they stood for; then the long prophesied revolution will surely come.

"THE AXE MUST BE LAID AT THE ROOT OF THE TREE."

The capitalist papers have at last published the statement of Robert Hunter, which we published weeks ago, that 70,000 school children in New York City go hungry every day, that 600,000 people in New York alone are in distress from poverty, 10,000,000 people in the United States cannot get enough to eat and wear, 1,750,000 children are toiling in mine, mill, sweatshop and factory and 5,000,000 women are compelled to work away from home for wages.

"When such statistics are presented," said Mr. Hunter, "the question may be asked, 'What is there in our boasted civilization or where is that generous fraternity that pulpit orators prate about?"

"Charity," he vows, "will not settle the problem. A few crumbs from the banquet board of wealth will not satiate the growing cry for justice."

In the face of facts like these a man is a fool or a fraud who claims the American people are prosperous. A FEW ARE, the masses are poor, hopelessly poor, and will be as long as the Profit System lasts.

Do not send stamps to us. We cannot exchange them. The postoffice will not even take them as payment of postage on the papers.

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WHY SOCIALISM DOOMS "THE DRINK"

BY W. B. GALLAHER

The economic necessities involved in Socialism are the best possible guarantee that the State, under Socialist rule, would not have any co-operative manufacture of intoxicating beverages, subject to state regulation and distribution, as some have imagined it would.

The time and labor spent in manufacturing intoxicants, would only lessen the amount of time and labor that would otherwise be spent in the co-operative manufacture of food, clothing and the various non-intoxicating comforts and luxuries of life, for equal distribution and division among the people. Every Socialist realizing this economic fact, would, (unless he were a perfect slave of the drink appetite) set his face at once against the state misspending a single hour in the manufacture of intoxicating drinks as a part of its co-operative manufactures.

An immense majority of the people composing the co-operative commonwealth—in fact every man and woman in it who loved the best food, clothing, comforts and non-intoxicating luxuries (which their combined co-operative labor could yield them) better than they loved intoxicating drinks—would be inflexibly opposed to the state making THEIR SHARE of these more desirable things LESS, by time spent in the manufacture of these less desirable things.

It is absolutely certain, then, that on a reference of this matter to the voice of the people (and under Socialism it would have to be referred to the people for their sanction or rejection) an immense majority of the people would give their voice to down the thing at once and forever.

The free use of intoxicating drinks lessens the productive power of the user. Therefore although fermented drinks such as wine and cider could and would be made to some extent in many of the private homes of the citizens of the co-operative commonwealth, outside of their regular working hours; still these drinks would not be allowed to be freely used at social gatherings, to the endangering of the full productive force and efficiency of the users.

Any one known to make and indulge in the use of home fermented or distilled intoxicants, to the point of sensibly reducing his productive power and efficiency, would be denied this privilege thereafter. For the one supreme consideration in the minds of the citizens of the co-operative commonwealth, would always be that the highest and best productive power of each citizen must be carefully guarded and protected, in order that the common and united labor of all might yield the largest possible results, in the minimum measure of time necessary. The results of the co-operative labor of all being subject to equal division among all, it will ever be the object of Socialists to remove as far as possible all hindrances to the highest productive efficiency of each and all, that each one's equal share of the production of all, may reach its maximum.

In view of all the foregoing facts, I think it safe to say that under no conceivable form of government outside of Socialism will the making and use of intoxicating drinks ever be as thoroughly and universally prohibited, as it will be, OF ECONOMIC NECESSITY, under Socialism.

The few SLAVES of drink who might manage to secure enough fermented or distilled drink to keep them in working order (and if they used enough to destroy their working power they would be put where they could not get the drink at all)—these few slaves of drink would all be dead in one generation, and such slaves would never appear in the next generation.

Again, I say that the economic necessities of Socialism insure the death of the making and using of both distilled and fermented drinks, as nothing else can ever do.

HAVE YOU SEEN THE VISION?

BY MRS. ELLA CARR

When you have climbed the rugged mountain-side, and climbed and sat down to rest, and climbed again, and panted for breath, and climbed again till the rareness of the atmosphere made it almost impossible to move without resting often, and, at last, after all your toil and struggle with the difficulties in your way, you have conquered—you have reached the summit—ah, the Vision which your whole being revels in! The awful weariness of your effort to reach the top is felt no more. You are drinking in the beauty, the richness, the grandeur of pictures painted by the Artist of the Universe. Should you never again see such a vision the glory of the one you have seen will stay in your mental picture-gallery forever.

So those who climb to get a vision of the glorious Co-operative Common-wealth—which is as real as if it were in our midst to-day—once seeing can never forget it. The glory of the vision can not grow dim. The enthusiasm of the beholder never dies out; but the longing desire seizes him to urge as many of his friends as possible to climb with him that they too may see and believe.

Ah, was there ever a time in all the centuries that one should so much long to live as NOW? Did ever such opportunities for God-like work present themselves to human souls? Do not the angels envy us?

Oh, is it possible that any of us who have seen the Vision can rest short of our utmost effort to get others to see it?

Everything depends upon this one thing: HAVE YOU SEEN THE VISION? Dream of it by night, talk about it by day, for when enough have seen the Vision then will we begin to realize it in our midst—beautiful, glorious, the City of God on earth.

As an awful contrast, could we see the world-wide picture of humanity's sins, woes and oppressions as they are to-day we would either become raving maniacs or die of a broken heart like the Christ on the Cross.

But sustained by the Vision of What Shall Be, we are able to bear all and work and suffer hopefully.

Have YOU seen the Vision?

THE MASSACRE AT ST. PETERSBURG

The whole world is horrified and anguished by the stupendous crime and folly of the Russian Government. The "Unspeakable Turk" no longer represents the chief of monsters. If this awful deed prove not the spark which shall explode the vast magazine that revolutionists have for years been preparing, the Russian people are yet too solid for hope. It should cause the Marseillaise to be sung by millions of armed men marching on St. Petersburg from all directions. The Russians cannot vote, therefore they must fight for freedom.

Starvation drove the Russian people to petition the Czar for relief and hundreds of the unarmed people—men, women and children—were shot down like wild beasts. There is no pretence that the people were armed or in anywise violent—they were marching with the confidence that the Czar, the "Little Father," would give them some relief. "They asked for" the chance to earn "bread" and the Government gave them death. With their hands held high above their heads to show they were unarmed, they were cut down without mercy, the Cossacks laughing while they slew. Falling upon their faces to show they meant no resistance, the "mob" of peaceful petitioners were shot where they lay. The Cross of the Prince of Peace was carried at the head of the column and In His Name the "Christian" government was begged for mercy. The Cross was fired on like a rebel flag—which it is,—a flag of rebellion against all such governments.

Oh, for a new crusade of freedom!

The plea of the people to the Czar, all things considered, is the most pathetic of all history. We can only give a part of it now:

"SIRE:—We, workmen, inhabitants of St. Petersburg, of all classes, our wives, children and indigent parents, come to you, our sovereign, as king, for protection. We are poor, persecuted, burdened with labor beyond our strength. We are insulted, treated not as men, but as slaves, who ought to bear their cruel fate in silence. We have suffered, but we are being plunged deeper in the mire and deprived of our rights. Uninstructed, stifled by destitution and injustice, we are perishing.

"Sire, we have arrived at the extreme limits of endurance; we have reached the terrible moment when death is to be preferred to a continuation of our intolerable sufferings.

"Our first request is that our masters should investigate our case. They have refused. We have been denied the right to put forward our claim, it being held that such right is not recognized by law.

"Any one of us who dared raise his voice in the interest of the people of the working classes has been thrown into prison or transported. Kindness and good feeling have been treated as a crime.

"National representation is indispensable, as only the people themselves know the country's real needs. Refuse not thy aid, but order a convocation of representatives of all classes, including workmen. Let all be free and equal in the elections and to this end permit the election of a constituted assembly by general secret ballot. That is our chief demand, in which all else centers. It is the sole balm for our wounds, which will otherwise speedily bring us death.

"We have nowhere else to go. Only two paths are open to us, either toward liberty and happiness or to the grave. Should our lives serve as a holocaust for suffering Russia we shall not regret the sacrifice, but shall bear it willingly."

When we consider that the strikers' demand is for only 35c per day for unskilled female labor and 50c for unskilled male labor, out of which much taxes must be paid, we can understand how desperate their situation is.

Maxime Gorky, the famous Russian novelist, says of the massacre of January 22:

"Today inaugurated revolution in Russia. The emperor's prestige will be irrevocably shattered by the shedding of innocent blood. Gopon taught the workmen to believe that an appeal direct to the "little father" would be heeded. They have been deceived. Gopon is now convinced that the only remedy is force. The first blood has been shed, but more will follow. It is now the people against the oppressors and the battle will be fought to the bitter end."

The Captive City of God

One of the ablest and most interesting books on Christian Socialism yet published is that of Richard Heath with the above title. It is a London print, but we have made arrangements to handle it at this office. Every student of economics, particularly every Christian student, should possess one of these volumes. Fuller announcements and a review will appear in this paper soon. The price is $1.00, postage paid.

BROTHERHOOD

BY EDWIN MARKHAM

The crest and crowning of all good,
Life's final star, is Brotherhood;
For it will bring again to earth
Her long-lost Poesy and Mirth;
Will send new light on every face,
A kingly power upon the race.
And till it come we men are slaves
And travel downward to the dust of graves.

Come, clear the way, then, clear the way:
Blind creeds and kings have had their day.
Break the dead branches from the path;
Our hope is in the aftermath—
Our hope is in heroic men,
Star-led to build the world again.
To this event the ages ran:
Make way for Brotherhood—make way for man.

THE POPULARITY OF JESUS

BY REV. PAUL H. CASTLE

I was taught from childhood that Christ was rejected by the populace. Doubtless, my dear reader, you have been told how Jesus was forsaken, maligned, condemned and crucified by the very people who not many hours before were hailing him as the Messiah and King of the Jews. Where such a story originated I am unable to say. One thing is sure it is not found in the Gospel account. It was only natural that many people would prove false to him, but that is far different from saying that the people deserted and condemned him.

The writers of the Gospel or history of Christ's life, inform us how the people are continually charmed and moved by higher impulses as they listen to Jesus teaching; how they hang on every word, or catch them up; how the people come from every part of Palestine to Galilee to hear the wonderful prophet. The Evangelists tell us that this general popularity continued until it found its climax in that magnificent demonstration, the Triumphal Entry—the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem on Sunday of the last week of his life. The Pharisees said at this time: "The world is gone after him." During this entire week up to the time of his arrest, Jesus taught in the temple and on the streets of Jerusalem. to the astonishment and admiration of the many thousands who had come from all parts of the civilized world to attend the Passover feast.

Whence then the opposition that culminated in Christ's crucifixion? On Tuesday before Christ was crucified on Friday (according to the common count), the Sanhedrin, the Jewish ecclesiastical court, composed of chief priests and elders of the people, had a meeting in the court of the high priest and this is what Matthew says of their deliberations: "They took counsel together that they might take Jesus by SUBTLETY and kill him. But they said 'Not during the feast LEST A TUMULT ARISE AMONG THE PEOPLE."' Mark gives practically the same account and Luke says, "The chief priests and scribes sought how they might put him to death for THEY FEARED THE PEOPLE." Now why this fear of the people and the danger of a tumult? Simply because the Jewish leaders well knew the people loved Jesus and his teachings and held him as a prophet and would not tolerate any scheme of persecution.

How then did they accomplish their fiendish crime? While the council above referred to was in session Luke says, "And Satan entered into Judas who was called Iscariot, being of the number of the twelve. And he went away and communed with the chief priests and captains, how he might deliver him unto them. And they were glad and covenanted to give him money. And he consented and sought opportunity to deliver him unto them in the ABSENCE OF THE MULTITUDE." This is a significant statement as it shows how the Jewish authorities were able to sieze Jesus privately, condemn him, and get him into the hands of the Roman authorities before the people could organize any effective resistance. Hence Judas betrayed Jesus late in the night and the soldiers hurried him off to the court of the high priest where he was condemned and turned over to Pilate before the people were aware that Jesus was a prisoner. And when they awoke on that day of the crucifixion they found Jesus in the hands of soldiers, condemned by the religious leaders as a blasphemer and accused before the Roman court, of sedition and treason. What could they do? They were not aware of the conspiracy of Judas and the Sanhedrin. They now saw Jesus only as a prisoner, a condemned man. Such of the people as were aware of the condition of Jesus and were attending the trial in Pilate's court, were being persuaded by the crafty and malignant chief priests through libelous statements, to demand the death of Jesus. By these methods these unscrupulous priests were enable to arouse enough of the more unstable of the multitude to form a mob whose furious and unquenching cry was, "Let him be crucified." In all fairness then we must conclude that the masses of the people were true to Jesus at all times and unto the last. With them he never became unpopular.

It is hardly just to blame the general public for what the frenzied mob demanded as it was organized by one of the most wicked and debased set of men that ever posed as leaders in human society. This mob doubtless represented such characters, on the whole, as is exemplified in these chief priests.

We reaffirm then, that Jesus was popular with the masses. But was that true of Jewish teachers generally? Verily not. We often read of Jesus in his ministry beholding the multitude "as sheep having no shepherd." What was the trouble? Were there no schools? Were there no Jewish Rabbis? Were there no synagogues for religious services? Yes, all these avenues for religious training were fairly well supplied. Jesus explains the difficulty in describing the most prominent class of religious instructors of his day when saying to his disciples, "Go not ye after their works for they say and do not. Yea, they bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders, but they themselves will not move them with their fingers. The people saw in Jesus a different kind of teacher. He never spoke a single moral principle that he did not live. He was the truth incarnate, concrete. The people saw in him a soul of love for all humanity. They saw in his ethics the foundation of a real, universal brotherhood. He was the SON OF MAN—the world-man. Hence "the common people heard him gladly."

The church openly confesses that she is not reaching the masses. This question is the theme of constant discussion in pulpit and press. What is the trouble? Are there not enough schools, or preachers, or churches? There could be more of course, but that would not be the specific remedy for in those centers of population where we find the most churches we find the whole problem most vexing.

Now if Christ reached the masses in his day, is it not clear that if the church of today would live and teach as he lived and taught, it too would arrive at the same results? But the trouble is we are like the Pharisees of old, we SAY and DO NOT. And what is worse still, we SAY and CAN NOT DO. For who can live the sermon on the mount in this terrible system of greed and exploitation where every man's hand is against his brother, where the few must and do rise by the misfortune of the many? Our system repudiates the sermon on the mount; it is infidel, atheistic. We "lay heavy burdens on men's shoulders and will not move them with our fingers," the industrial burdens "grievous to be borne." Mammon has dulled our intellects, closed our mouths, paralyzed our hands and hardened our hearts. No wonder the masses do not go to church. They are engrossed in the ceaseless struggle for existence. And so it will continue until the church lives and teaches like her Master, readjusting material conditions to harmonize with his teachings.

If the church will preach the Christ of the Triumphal Entry, with all that Christ represents as a teacher, then the masses will seek communion within her folds. But if the chief priests of religion and finance are allowed to conspire with the Judases of the church and hold up the misrepresented Christ of Pilate's court, then the church should not blame the masses if they cry out as of old, "Let him be crucified."

But the chief priests who condemned Jesus could not long deceive the people, for a few weeks after that Passover, five thousand souls embraced the Kingdom of God and entered into a real, practical brotherhood affecting to the fullest extent both the material and spiritual life. So it is now. The people can no longer be deceived. The glory of Christ is shining through the clouds of error and his power is breaking the chains of industrial servitude. We are entering into the Kingdom of God. We are demanding a true and complete brotherhood resulting in the overthrow of capitalists, the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, the reign of King Emmanuel. And this world shall be filled with our war cry UNTIL WE HAVE ACCOMPLISHED OUR TASK. Until then there shall be no peace.

Chambersburg, Ill.

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We have a few hundred extra copies of this issue, which may be had at one cent each in bundles of ten or more. Get a bundle and do some propaganda work among your temperance friends.